

Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-10

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 195525

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT STATE 195525 TO KINSHASA; ORIGINALLY SENT
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (REF'S OMITTED)

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 195525

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: RH, PDEV, US, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: US-UK APPROACH TO TOLBERT REGARDING
MUZOREWA VISIT
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REF: STATE 189465; CUTLER-JUNIOR TELECON

I. MUZOREWA HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION FROM PRESIDENT
TOLBERT TO VISIT LIBERIA EN ROUTE TO RHODESIA, AND IS
EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN MONROVIA LATER THIS WEEK. OWEN
INTENDS TO HAVE UK AMBASSADOR ASK TOLBERT TO USE HIS

INFLUENCE WITH MUZOREWA TO TRY TO SHIFT THE LATTER FROM HIS CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO AN ALL PARTIES MEETING. OWEN HAS REQUESTED, AND WE HAVE AGREED, TO JOIN IN AN APPROACH TO TOLBERT.

2. REQUEST THAT YOU CONSULT WITH YOUR BRITISH COLLEAGUE AND MAKE JOINT APPROACH TO TOLBERT AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY TO SAY THAT WE THINK IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF HE WERE TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO THE BISHOP:

I. THE BISHOP'S CONFIDENCE THAT ELECTIONS UNDER THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT CAN TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR, AND THAT THEY WOULD PRODUCE AN AFRICAN MAJORITY GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD OBTAIN INTERNA-

TIONAL RECOGNITION, SEEMS MISPLACED. MR. SMITH AND SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES HAVE EXPRESSED PUBLIC DOUBTS ABOUT THE VIABILITY OF THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT AND HINTED THAT IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HOLD ELECTIONS IF THE PRESENT LEVEL OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITY CANNOT BE SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED. THESE DOUBTS ARE SHARED BY MANY IN BRITAIN, UNITED STATES, AND AFRICA.

II. THE ONLY WAY TO END THE FIGHTING AND TO PRODUCE CONDITIONS IN WHICH FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD, AND INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OBTAINED, IS BY REACHING CONFIDENTIAL

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AN AGREEMENT SUPPORTED BY ALL PARTIES. THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE PROPOSED AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO ATTEND. BUT THE PARTIES TO THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT DO NOT SEEM YET TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR SUCH A MEETING.

III. TIME IS RUNNING OUT. MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES AT THE RECENT OAU MEETING ENDORSED THE UK-US PROPOSAL FOR AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING AND THUS RECOGNIZED THE RIGHT OF THE BISHOP AND HIS AFRICAN COLLEAGUES ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATION OF A GENUINE SETTLEMENT. THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT AND A CRITICAL OPPORTUNITY WILL BE WASTED IF THE BISHOP DECLINES TO TAKE PART IN TALKS. THE FRONT LINE STATES IN PARTICULAR ARE STILL READY TO CONCEDE THAT THE BISHOP HAS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL ROLE TO PLAY, BUT HOW LONG WILL THIS REMAIN THE CASE IF HE CONTINUES TO DECLINE TO COME TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING?

IV. (TO BE MADE BY U.S. AMBASSADOR) THE BISHOP SHOULD NOT TAKE UNDUE COMFORT FROM THE RECENT VOTE IN

THE U.S. SENATE ON THE POSSIBLE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS.
(CASE-JAVITS AMENDMENT; TEXT CONTAINED REFTTEL). HE
SHOULD NOTE THAT, EVEN IF THE AMENDMENT BECOMES
LAW, IT BASES A SUSPENSION OF SANCTIONS ON A DETERMINA-
TION BY THE PRESIDENT THAT THE SALISBURY PARTIES (A)
DEMONSTRATE A GOOD FAITH WILLINGNESS TO ATTEND AN ALL
PARTIES MEETING AT WHICH ALL ISSUES RELEVANT TO A
SETTLEMENT WOULD BE OPEN TO DISCUSSION, AND (B) THAT
IF SUCH A MEETING IS HELD THAT THEY NEGOTIATE IN GOOD
FAITH ON ALL RELEVANT MATTERS, INCLUDING THE SALISBURY
AGREEMENT.VANCE

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